



Social Policy Report

“Wearing a Mask Won't Protect Us from Our History”: The Impact of COVID-19 on Black Children and Families

Erin Bogan, The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning

Valerie N. Adams-Bass, Rutgers University

Lori A. Francis, The Pennsylvania State University

Noni K. Gaylord-Harden, Texas A&M University

Eleanor K. Seaton, Arizona State University

Judith C. Scott, Boston University

Joanna L. Williams, Rutgers University

ABSTRACT

The data on COVID-19 show an irrefutable and disturbing pattern: Black Americans are contracting and dying from COVID-19 at rates that far exceed other racial and ethnic groups. Due to historical and current iterations of racism, Black Americans have been forced into conditions that elevate their risk for COVID-19 and consequently place Black children at the epicenter of loss across multiple domains of life. The current paper highlights the impact of the pandemic on Black children at the individual, family, and school levels. Based on an understanding of the influence of structural racism on COVID-19 disparities, policy recommendations are provided that focus on equitable access to quality education, home ownership, and employment to fully address the needs of Black children and families during and after the pandemic. Research, practice, and policy recommendations are made to journal editors, funding agencies, grant review panels, and researchers regarding how research on COVID-19 should be framed to inform intervention efforts aimed at improving the situation of Black children and families.

Keywords

COVID-19 pandemic, Black children and youth, Black families, structural racism, policy recommendations

Correspondence

Noni K. Gaylord-Harden (ngaylord@tamu.edu)

Social Policy Report

Volume 35, Number 2 | 2022
ISSN 1075-7031

Social Policy Report
is published three times a year
by the Society for Research in
Child Development.

EDITORIAL TEAM

Lead Editor

Ellen Wartella, PhD
ellen-wartella@northwestern.edu

Associate Editor

Fashina Aladé, PhD
alade@u.northwestern.edu

Editorial Board

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, PhD
Sandra Waxman, PhD
David Figlio, PhD
Craig Garfield, MD
Neil Jordan, PhD
Terri Sabol, PhD
David Uttal, PhD
Diane Schanzenbach, PhD
Dedre Gentner, PhD
Matthew M. Davis, MD
Amelie Petitclerc, PhD
Rachel Flynn, PhD
Onnie Rogers, PhD

SRCD Policy Staff

Kelly R. Fisher, PhD
Nighisti Dawit, M.Sc.
Rose Ippolito

Manager of Publications

Melissa Lutchkus

“FROM THE EDITOR” “WEARING A MASK WON’T PROTECT US FROM OUR HISTORY”: THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON BLACK CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

As we enter the third year of the COVID-19 pandemic, this *Social Policy Report* brings to light the inordinate costs Black children and families are paying at the individual, family, and school levels. As the authors—Erin Bogan, Valerie N. Adams-Bass, Lori A. Francis, Noni K. Gaylord-Hardin, Eleanor K. Seaton, Judith C. Scott, and Joanna L. Williams—write, “At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States, the virus was referred to as the ‘great equalizer’ . . . Instead, the coronavirus pandemic proved to be the ‘great amplifier,’ as it has exposed and exacerbated existing inequities experienced by Black children, adolescents, and families throughout the country.”

This *SPR* offers an incredibly detailed report of the differential impact of the pandemic on Black communities, highlighting the historical legacy of institutionalized racism in the United States. Starting with higher rates of infection for Black Americans, inadequate community support marked by inadequate housing in areas of high poverty, a legacy of inadequate health care in Black communities, Black Americans’ relegation to work in essential industries that open them to higher virus infection rates, inadequate technological and teacher support to enable remote education in schools with predominantly Black children coupled with poor internet connections in Black youth’s homes, and considerable stressors at the family level where it is estimated that “one-third of Black households with children experienced three or more simultaneous economic or health related hardships” including parents losing jobs and family members losing their lives to the virus. In short, across all levels of development and ecological systems, Black children and youth are suffering mightily from the history of social and structural inequality in the United States.

Most importantly, the authors go on to provide a detailed roadmap for addressing these current and longstanding inequalities for Black youth. In addition to recommendations for funding agencies and policymakers at the state and federal levels, the authors also offer a series of recommendations for researchers to study Black youth with mixed methods research designs that take into account their lived experiences. Further, there is a very detailed set of recommendations for the educational system—both K-12 schools and college-level teacher training institutions—to address issues that disproportionately negatively affect Black children and youth. This is indeed an important set of recommended policy guidelines which really must be followed if we are to have any hope of addressing the historical and ongoing inequalities in American life. The dislocations and investments brought on by the pandemic represent an opportunity to step up to this challenge.

“Wearing a Mask Won't Protect Us from Our History”: The Impact of COVID-19 on Black Children and Families

As the global spread of the COVID-19 pandemic began to grip the United States in early 2020, Washington Post reporter Eli Saslow interviewed Americans all over the country to capture an in-depth oral history of the pandemic's toll. During an interview with Burnell Cotlon, a Black owner of a grocery store in the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans, Mr. Cotlon detailed the harsh effects of the pandemic on his community and stated what statistics would later show—the pandemic was systematically impacting Black communities. However, Mr. Cotlon called attention to the long history of disinvestment in his community, particularly after Hurricane Katrina. He described how the scarcity of jobs, low wages, food deserts, and inadequate health care made life in his community “an underlying condition,” which exacerbated the impact of COVID-19. He noted, “Wearing a mask won't protect us from our history.”

At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States, the virus was referred to as the “great equalizer,” as many thought the disease posed an equal threat to Americans and the rest of the global population (Galasso, 2020; E. J. Kim et al., 2020; Mein, 2020). This view could not have been further from the truth. Instead, the coronavirus pandemic proved to be the “*great amplifier*,” as it has exposed and exacerbated existing inequities experienced by Black children, adolescents, and families throughout the country (Gaynor & Wilson, 2020; E. J. Kim et al., 2020; Mein, 2020). The alarming racial disparities in rates of infections and deaths from COVID-19 among Black Americans, as well as the economic, educational, and health inequities they experience, highlight the historical legacy of social and structural inequality in the United States (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gaynor & Wilson, 2020; E. J. Kim et al., 2020).

Disparities in the Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic

Although families of all racial and ethnic groups have been adversely affected by COVID-19, Black families bear a disproportionate burden, with significantly higher rates of COVID-19 infections, hospitalizations, and COVID-19–related mortalities (Mackey et al., 2021; Poulson et al., 2021; Rubin-Miller et al., 2020). A systematic review of data on COVID-19 rates showed that Black Americans have a 1.5–3.5 times higher risk for infection and are 1.5–3 times more likely to be hospitalized compared to White Americans (Mackey et al., 2021). As the pandemic unfolded in 2020, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported that Black Americans represented 33% of COVID-19 hospitalizations and 34% of COVID-19 deaths, despite being 13% of the U.S. population. A national study of COVID-19 mortality and distribution showed that for every 1% increase in the Black population, there was a 2.12% increase in COVID-19 mortalities (Anaele et al., 2021).

An analysis of COVID-19 rates in six U.S. cities (New York City, Chicago, Atlanta, San Diego, St. Louis, and Baltimore) revealed that a 10% increase in a ZIP code's Black population was associated with an additional 9.2 confirmed COVID-19 cases per

10,000 residents (Benitez et al., 2020). In Chicago, Black Americans make up 30% of the population, but more than 50% of COVID-19 cases and almost 70% of COVID-19 deaths (Drew & Abu-Khalaf, 2020). In Milwaukee, Black Americans make up 37% of the city's population, but almost 70% of all COVID-19 deaths (Center for Economic Development, 2020).

State-level data illustrated that in 32 states and the District of Columbia, Black Americans were dying at rates 50% higher than what would be expected (Rimmer, 2020). In four states, the rate was three or more times higher (Godoy & Wood, 2020; Yancy, 2020). In fact, findings in Louisiana showed that Black Americans made up 70.5% of those who died despite being only 32.2% of the state's population (Yancy, 2020). In Michigan, Black Americans were 15% of the state population but were 33% of COVID-19 cases and 40% of COVID-19 deaths (Parpia et al., 2021).

County-level data across the country showed that in predominantly Black counties, infection rates were three times higher and death rates were six times higher than rates in predominantly White counties (Thebault et al., 2020). In June 2020, the CDC identified 205 counties in 33 states as hotspots, which are areas meeting specified criteria relating to temporal increases in the number of cases and incidence. The data illustrated a disproportionate number of COVID-19 cases among underrepresented racial-ethnic groups occurred in almost all the identified hotspots between February and June 2020 (Moore et al., 2020). In 22 of these counties, rates of COVID-19 were disparate for Black residents (Moore et al., 2020).

Disparities in the rates of COVID-19 among children

The racial disparities in COVID-19 rates persist even when controlling for personal, social, and environmental determinants of health (Escobar et al., 2021; Figueroa et al., 2021). For example, a study using national data at the county level examined the association between the proportion of Black and Latino adults within a community and the number of COVID-19 cases and COVID-19 deaths (Escobar et al., 2021). Results indicated that a 10 percentage point increase in the Black population of a community was associated with an increase of 324.7 cases of COVID-19 and 14.5 COVID-19 deaths per 100,000 people (Escobar et al., 2021). The increase in COVID-19 cases and deaths persisted for Black adults, even after controlling for the following county-level variables: average household size, proportion of individuals with less than a high school diploma, median household income, the proportion of adults who were foreign-born noncitizens, and the proportion of adults who commute using public transportation (Escobar et al., 2021). An analysis of data from New York City demonstrates that even after accounting for differences in neighborhood poverty levels and health conditions, Black neighborhoods display death rates that are still 28% higher than those observed in White communities (Do & Frank, 2021), demonstrating that the association cannot be “explained away” easily by any of these potential confounding variables at the group level (Aneale et al., 2021).

While the data on prevalence rates has focused largely on adults, new demographic data released by the CDC provides the first comprehensive racial breakdown of

COVID-19 cases and deaths among youth populations (Mitropoulos, 2021). Among children between the ages of 5 and 17, Black children represented 12.6% of COVID-19 cases, which corresponds roughly to the demographics of Black children in the United States. However, Black children, along with Latinx children, experience greater illness severity, including the severe COVID-19–related inflammatory illness MIS-C, and made up 65% of the children who have died from COVID-19 (Fernandes et al., 2021). The death rate for Black youth exceeds their contraction rate. There is a concern that the disease could become a “disease of the young” depending on how the push for vaccinations impacts the risk of COVID-19 by age (Zhang, 2021). Specifically, the logical prioritization of older adults for vaccination means that the unvaccinated group will disproportionately consist of children (Zhang, 2021), which may leave children of color particularly vulnerable. A new study by the American Academy of Pediatrics & Children’s Hospital Association (2021) revealed that children represented 22% of the new COVID-19 cases reported in the last week of April 2021, up from 3% in 2020.

A Sociohistorical Integrative Framework for Understanding the Impact of COVID-19 on Black Children and Families

Murry et al. (2018) proposed an integrative framework to study the impact of stress on the experiences and development of Black children and families. The authors argued that Black children are profoundly influenced by chronic and historical exposure to stressors and adverse social environments (Murry et al., 2018). To best understand the multifactorial influences, antecedents, and consequences of COVID-19 on Black Americans, a sociohistorical framework is useful. The Sociohistorical Integrative Model describes the ways in which the remnants of slavery in the United States have caused indelible and deleterious impacts on Black families’ sociocultural contexts (e.g., racism and marginalization), which has led to marginalized social positions (e.g., social class), and disproportionate exposures to extreme environmental stressors (e.g., education-, neighborhood- and health-related inequities; Murry et al., 2018). Marginalized social positions and environmental stressors result in Black families being more vulnerable to stress in ways that compromise family systems and wellbeing (e.g., family relationships, psychological/emotional functioning), which may impact children’s positive development, adjustment, and adaptation (e.g., social competence, successful life transitions, health outcomes). Together, these stressors and vulnerabilities represent a disproportionate level of exposure to adversity in Black children and families, which may manifest in differential developmental outcomes. Murry et al. (2018) highlight the importance of “cultural strength-based coping assets” as potential moderators that may buffer the effects of exposure to sociohistorical stressors and environments on Black children’s outcomes. These assets are proposed to have direct effects on environmental stressors, family vulnerabilities and positive development, adjustment, and adaptation. Such assets include, but are not limited to, cultural legacies, family cohesion, racial identity, and kinship support.

We utilize this sociohistorical approach to frame the deleterious impacts of COVID-19 on Black children and families. We describe the historical legacy of racism against Black people in the United States and its consequences at the school, family, and

individual levels. We end with recommendations for research, funding, and policy to address the unique needs of Black children and families during the COVID-19 pandemic, and similar historical events with wide-reaching impacts on child development. According to García Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model for the developmental competencies of minority children and families, there are critical aspects of the environment that children and youth of color are exposed to, which are marred by racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and segregation. To fully understand the influence of these risk factors on the development of non-White children and youth, social position factors (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, and social class), must be incorporated as core phenomena rather than peripheral contextual processes. Murry et al.'s (2018) sociohistorical integrative conceptual framework for studying stress in Black families draws on and expands García Coll's model by including the sociohistorical context (vestiges of slavery and Jim Crow laws) as an

ongoing influence on the lives of Black youth and families, which are experienced through sociocultural stressors such as racism, discrimination, marginalization, and oppression. Thus, a valid and informative understanding of elevated risks to development among Black youth rests on recognizing how the social environment contributes to ongoing marginalization, which has a substantial and pervasive influence on Black youth (García Coll et al., 1996; Murry et al., 2018).

A valid and informative understanding of elevated risks to development among Black youth rests on recognizing how the social environment contributes to ongoing marginalization, which has a substantial and pervasive influence on Black youth.

Historical Legacy of Racism

Racism includes “a system of dominance, power, and privilege based on racial group designations” that privileges the dominant group (e.g., White individuals) and excludes subordinate groups (e.g., Native American, Black, Latinx, and Asian) from power and resources (Harrell, 2000, p. 43). The history of Black people in the western hemisphere begins with an estimated 12.5 million Africans forcibly shipped to North America, South America, and the Caribbean between 1525 and 1866 (Golash-Boza, 2015; SlaveVoyages, 2018). The Civil War in the United States began in 1861 after growing tensions between northern and southern states over the institution of slavery and lasted until the Confederate states surrendered in 1865 (Zinn, 1990). Abraham Lincoln signed the 13th Amendment, which freed the estimated four million Africans and Black Americans living in the United States (Zinn, 1990). Immediately following the Civil War was the decade-long period known as Reconstruction, which bolstered the political rights of Black American men, and resulted in schools and universities advancing the lives of former enslaved individuals (Coates, 2017). The backlash against Black societal advancement gave rise to the Jim Crow era, which lasted from 1877 to 1965 (Alexander, 2010). In southern states, de jure racial segregation existed by legal decree, whereas in northern states, de facto racial segregation resulted from enforced housing codes, bank practices, and employment discrimination (Alexander, 2010). Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which rendered the unequal application of voter requirements and racial segregation in

schools, employment settings, and public facilities illegal (Loevy, 1997). Despite the passage of legislation to ensure that Black Americans had equal access to societal resources, the lingering effects of enslavement and Jim Crow policies resulted in widespread racial inequities and racial disparities that existed *prior* to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Racism Increased the Risk of COVID-19

Racism is multilevel and multidimensional, and includes individual racism, institutional racism, and structural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Clark et al., 1999; C. P. Jones, 2000; J. M. Jones, 1997). Individual racism is the behavioral component of racism and is similar to racial discrimination (Williams et al., 2003), personally mediated racism (Jones, 2000), and racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007). Individual racism includes dominant racial group members' actions that have differential and negative effects on subordinate racial-ethnic groups (Williams et al., 2003). Individual racism has been linked with diminished mental health, physical health, and academic outcomes among Black children and adolescents (Benner et al., 2018; Lee & Ahn, 2013; Paradies et al., 2015; Priest et al., 2013). The negative impact of individual racism on physical and mental health is especially salient given that Black youth are more likely to suffer from diabetes, heart disease, asthma, and lung disease (Committee on Community-Based Solutions to Promote Health Equity in the United States et al., 2017; National Center for Health Statistics, 2015; Office of Minority Health, 2019). These illnesses increase one's risk of getting COVID-19 and exacerbate the effects of COVID-19. Further, Black families are far less likely to have health insurance, thus increasing their risk of deleterious effects of COVID-19 (Sohn, 2016).

Institutional racism also produces differential exposure to stress and environmental hazards that increase or exacerbate mental health issues, as well as differential access to resources, supports, and opportunities that promote positive health (Jones, 1997; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). Institutional racism manifests in housing as many Black families are disproportionately relegated to inferior and subpar housing because of racial segregation and redlining, high levels of poverty, limited education and employment opportunities, and high violence exposure (Bailey et al., 2017; Greene et al., 2017; Ray, 2020). Black American families living in such racially segregated housing are at an increased risk of exposure to environmental toxins and food insecurity (Bailey et al., 2017; Odoms-Young & Bruce, 2018; Williams & Collins, 2001). To add, there is a higher risk of spreading contagious diseases in racially segregated and impoverished neighborhoods because social distancing and quarantining remain difficult (Vasquez Reyes, 2020). In this regard, Black families living in racially segregated neighborhoods, which are often "health care deserts" that lack adequate care facilities (Dotinga, 2012), are simultaneously more likely to experience housing conditions that increase their exposure to Covid-19 and decrease their access to the medical care needed to treat it, should they be exposed and infected.

Institutional racism also manifests in the labor industry. Black Americans are disproportionately represented in service and health jobs with low wages and have

the greatest risk for occupational hazards and for COVID-19 (Hawkins, 2020). Research shows Black Americans are more likely to work in essential industries (e.g., food service, public transit, and health care) potentially bringing them in contact with infected individuals (Pitts, 2011). Given the low pay of essential industries, Black Americans are more likely to ride public transit, which would also increase the likelihood of them encountering infected individuals (Anderson, 2016).

Similarly, institutional racism permeates the education system in ways that threaten Black children's psychological and physical well-being. Data reveal that Black youth are disproportionately suspended and expelled as early as preschool (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, 2014). Consequently, studies show that a disproportionate number of Black youths attending underfunded schools will be tracked into juvenile and adult prisons (Alang et al., 2017; Alexander, 2010; Lecoanet et al., 2014). Moreover, Theodos and González (2019) point out that Black youth are more likely to attend predominantly Black schools, which are chronically under-resourced, and therefore, may be less likely to have the funding mechanisms to provide not only adequate educational support but safety measures during a crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

These illustrations provide an example of structural racism, which "is a constellation of macro-level systems, social forces, institutions, ideologies, and interactive processes that generate and reinforce inequities among racial and ethnic groups. These components are integrated, reciprocally influence each other across multiple domains, and evolve in function and form over time" (Dennis et al., 2021, p. 302). Gee and Hickens (2021) define structural racism as "the totality of how society is organized to privilege White communities at the expense of non-White racialized communities." The forms of institutional racism evident in the housing, labor, and educational institutions are replicated across all societal domains throughout the lifespan and across generations (Gee & Hickens, 2021). In this regard, individual, institutional, and structural racism served as the preexisting conditions for Covid-19 among the Black community. These various forms of racism put the Black community at higher risk for acquiring Covid-19 and resulted in the Black community being especially vulnerable to the effects of Covid-19.

Individual, institutional, and structural racism served as the preexisting conditions for Covid-19 among the Black community.

Consequences of COVID-19 at the School Level

Due to institutional and structural racism, (García Coll et al., 1996; Gee & Hickens, 2021), the majority (73%) of Black children and youth in public schools attend high- or mid-high-poverty schools (Hussar et al., 2020). Poor school conditions existed long before the pandemic (Frankenberg et al., 2019), but the concentration of poverty in schools attended by Black children has been rising in recent years (U.S. General Accountability Office [U.S. GAO], 2016). Education at all levels is intricately connected to health equity and life course trajectories (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2019) and Black children and families are among the most vulnerable to the impact of COVID-19 in the education system. The

exacerbation of inequalities brought on by the pandemic is particularly troubling for Black families in under-resourced schools. For example, in the early months of the pandemic, scholars forecasted that low-SES schools would see greater learning losses among their students as a function of school closures (Kuhfeld et al., 2020), and follow-up studies show evidence of these disparities (Agostinelli et al., 2022; Kuhfeld et al., 2022). Beyond academic learning, pandemic closures and subsequent reopening restrictions have required schools to invest resources to support student and staff's physical safety, mental health, and socioemotional well-being. For under-resourced school systems already struggling with issues like safety, physical infrastructure, access to quality learning materials and technology, student-family engagement and support, and staff turnover, the pandemic has only exacerbated these stressors (Office for Civil Rights [OCR], 2021).

Technology and remote learning

Due to decades of underinvestment in Black communities, Black children are more likely to attend schools with fewer economic resources and less technology to support remote instruction (Reardon & Owens, 2014). The pandemic increased the

fiscal deficits of schools working to provide remote educational experiences (Camera, 2020; Sanders, 2020). With students expected to lose one-third of pre-pandemic reading gains and half of the math gains during the pandemic (Kuhfeld et al., 2020; Kuhfeld & Tarasawa, 2020), the pandemic will further exacerbate existing disparities in achievement caused by institutional racism in the education domain.

With students expected to lose one-third of pre-pandemic reading gains and half of math gains during the pandemic, the pandemic will further exacerbate existing disparities in achievement caused by institutional racism in the education domain.

Internet access, for example, became essential, particularly with the 2020 shift to virtual instruction. Black children were more likely to experience loss of instruction time during remote learning (Jacobsen, 2020; OCR, 2021). Prior to the pandemic, the digital divide was already disproportionately impacting Black children and youth, who were more likely than their peers to lack access to broadband internet or other technology resources needed to complete schoolwork at home (Anderson & Perrin, 2018; Auxier & Anderson, 2020). To compound this issue, Black parents are more likely to experience financial strain when paying broadband and smartphone bills, constraining their children's ability to access virtual schooling and other online educational resources (Schaeffer, 2021; Vogels et al., 2020).

Friedman et al. (2021) documented that Black children were more likely to have inadequate access to the technology needed for online learning than their peers, with issues of accessibility being especially challenging across socioeconomic divides. In fall 2020, about 6% of Black children whose parents had a graduate degree lacked adequate access to technology, compared with 4% of all children whose parents had a graduate degree (Friedman et al., 2021). In contrast, almost 36% of Black children whose parents had less than a high school education had insufficient technology access, compared with 20% of all children with the same level of parent education

(Friedman et al., 2021). In the early months of the pandemic, one in five Black parents received little to no information from their school about remote learning resources (Education Trust, 2020), and 25% of Black youth connected with teachers less than once per week (Wronski, 2020). Furthermore, parents who were essential workers were less available to support online instruction (Dorn et al., 2020; North, 2020).

Prior to the pandemic, basic or “essential” internet subscriptions that offered slower internet speeds and limited data at lower prices were presented as a solution to the problem of providing low-income families with home-based internet (Reddick, Enriquez, Harris, & Sharma, 2020; Wheeler, 2020). COVID-19 demonstrated that these subscription plans were insufficient. Not only was there still a financial burden for these families, but the slower speeds were incompatible with the increased need for the use of high-speed internet for remote learning during the pandemic (Wheeler, 2020). Access disparities revealed by the switch to remote learning have instigated a broader discussion about net neutrality—equal access to web-based content and data speeds without tiered fees—and about the digital divide, or the gap between those who have access to technology and those who do not (Wheeler, 2020). Municipalities, school districts, community-based organizations, and businesses have since launched collaborations that provide free internet access to families. These partnerships eclipse preexisting fee-based tiered internet “essential” options. For example, the Verizon Innovative Learning Program is a series of initiatives to provide internet coverage, offer digital training to 10 million youth by 2030, support teachers, and increase broadband availability in rural communities (Verizon, n.d.). Other internet providers now offer a monthly credit towards internet or mobile phone service through the Affordable Connectivity Program, a benefits program supported by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC, n.d.).

School discipline and instructional time

Prior to the pandemic, Black children were more likely to lose instructional time due to disproportionate discipline strategies (Losen & Martinez, 2020; U.S. GAO, 2018), and evidence suggests prepandemic losses were magnified by pandemic-related school closures (Kuhfeld et al., 2022). Institutionalized patterns of racial discrimination against Black children, including disparate disciplinary practices resulting in the school-to-prison pipeline (C. Y. Kim et al., 2010), have fueled deep distrust of schools among Black communities (Gilbert et al., 2020; Shapiro et al., 2021). For many families, punitive discipline practices that disproportionately targeted their Black children carried over into the virtual learning space (C. Collins, 2021).

Other Black families welcomed the shift to remote learning and found it beneficial for their children to learn in a virtual environment (Banks, 2022). Specifically, some Black parents reported that remote learning buffered their children from being targeted for disciplinary infractions (Miller, 2021; St. George, 2021). Black children must navigate racial discrimination in school and manage racial encounters with students and teachers while tasked with learning

(Bentley-Edwards et al., 2020; Coleman-King et al., 2021). Black girls, for example, are adultified by their teachers, and often described as loud and unruly, while their self-advocacy is interpreted as aggression or anger (Adams-Bass, 2021; Adams-Bass & Bentley-Edwards, 2020; Butler-Barnes & Inniss-Thompson, 2020; Morris, 2007). For some Black families, remote school relieved them of the stress and emotional energy used to manage racial encounters and provided an opportunity to redirect their attention to learning, resulting in reported differences in children's academic achievement and well-being (Anderson, 2020; Miller, 2021).

Some Black parents reported that remote learning buffered their children from being targeted for disciplinary infractions.

School- and district-level funding

The pandemic magnified the impact of inequitable school funding. Districts that serve large populations of Black children in urban and poor rural communities were tasked with addressing increased fiscal deficits as they worked to provide at-home educational experiences at the end of the 2019–20 school year and develop protocols for the 2020–21 school year (Camera, 2020; Sanders, 2020). As schools addressed educational access, including broadband access, the U.S. Department of Education (DOE) initially continued to require annual student assessments, but with extended due dates. Guidelines for the 2020–2021 school year were relaxed, providing districts the opportunity to forgo standardized testing.

The abrupt change in instruction and access to at-home learning resources for students placed additional pressure on districts to develop plans that addressed atypical school year learning loss and summer learning loss for Black youth (Regional Educational Laboratory Program Northwest, 2020). Furthermore, CDC COVID-19 requirements for social distancing and cleaning procedures (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021) added to the cost borne by school districts. Districts with older school buildings faced heavy expenditures to comply with regulations for schools to reopen, which further disadvantaged students in these districts.

School districts that rely heavily on state revenue will have to manage and project budgets with the expectation that their state funding will be lower for the next fiscal year because of reduced state income during the COVID-19 shutdown (Blagg et al., 2021). Such districts often rely on state funding because properties in the community are often undervalued, lowering the tax base (Berry, 2021; Ingraham, 2021). Tax breaks to businesses, theoretically in exchange for employment of city residents, net minimal contributions to the local tax base that supports schools, and fewer dollars to support under-resourced districts mean leaders will have to reduce spending (Blagg et al., 2021). Urban school districts already have fewer psychosocial supports and nonacademic resources, such as music and art programs, available to their students (Hudley, 2013; Lippman et al., 1996). The Brookings Institute's projected deficits for 2020–21 suggest teachers are also likely to be laid off. Personnel accounts for as much as 80% of district budgets (Roza, 2020),

and lower-ranking teachers, frequently employed in lower-resourced districts where Black students are enrolled, are likely to be the first to be laid off (Burnette, 2020).

Consequences of COVID-19 at the Family Level

The concomitant challenges of racism and the pandemic have resulted in Black families facing more severe consequences across multiple domains of life. Approximately one-third of Black households with children experienced three or more simultaneous economic and health-related hardships amid the COVID-19 pandemic (Padilla & Thomson, 2021). Specifically, with unemployment at an unprecedented high, 45% of Black workers have lost their jobs or had their hours reduced, which is 14% more than White workers (Swasey et al., 2020). Consequently, Black families are

overrepresented among families experiencing food insecurity (Share Our Strength, n.d.), difficulty paying bills, and housing instability (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2020). One in three Black households with children reported being behind on their rent or mortgage and 50% of those households reported that eviction or foreclosure was likely in the next 2 months (Lloyd et al., 2021).

Approximately one-third of Black households with children experienced three or more simultaneous economic and health-related hardships amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

Black families are also experiencing devastating losses of loved ones. The large COVID-19 mortality rate will leave large numbers of individuals grieving the loss of loved ones and usher in a new pandemic of grief (Verdery et al., 2020; Weinstock et al., 2021). Analyses using epidemiological scenarios show that each death from COVID-19 will leave approximately nine times as many Americans bereaved by the death of a grandparent, parent, sibling, spouse, or child (Verdery et al., 2020). It is estimated that there are over one million children and adolescents experiencing bereavement because of the loss of a loved one due to COVID-19 (Weinstock et al., 2021), with an average of 2.2 bereaved children and 4.1 bereaved grandchildren for each person who died (Verdery et al., 2020). Adolescents represented 75% of individuals under 18 who have lost at least one parent due to COVID-19 (Kidman et al., 2021).

Disproportionately higher COVID-19 infection and death rates among Black Americans heighten the burden of psychological distress and grieving among Black children and families (Snowden & Graaf, 2021) and exacerbate existing racial disparities in the loss of loved ones (Verdery et al., 2020). Epidemiological approaches to COVID-19–related kin loss show that Black Americans were more likely to have a close relative die from COVID-19 (Verdery et al., 2020). Black Americans are experiencing higher losses among their vertical kin (e.g., grandparents, parents; Verdery et al., 2020). A disproportionate kin loss from COVID-19 is also shouldered by Black children (Kidman et al., 2021). Despite comprising less than 14% of the U.S. population, Black children make up 20% of the children who have lost a parent due to COVID-19 and thus, have suffered a loss of social support (Kidman et al., 2021).

In addition, Black families may be experiencing more debilitating forms of grief due to the unique circumstances of the pandemic. Although grief is a normal process in response to the loss of a loved one, COVID-19 deaths are sudden and unanticipated, and the infectious nature of COVID-19 compounds the impact of loss by precluding in-person care and the ability to say goodbye (Albuquerque & Santos, 2021; Guessoum et al., 2020; Verdery et al., 2021; Weinstock et al., 2021). Further, the highly transmissible nature of COVID-19 may lead to multiple deaths within families (Verdery et al., 2021). Traditional grief, funeral, and burial practices serve as cultural rituals in the Black community and often ease the burden of death and loss (Moore, et al., 2020), but traditional practices were disrupted by social distancing measures and travel restrictions (Albuquerque & Santos, 2021; Guessoum et al., 2020; Moore, et al., 2020). The unique circumstances surrounding COVID-19–related loss will be experienced as traumatic, and traumatic loss is associated with longer periods of grief in adolescents (Guessoum et al., 2020). Further, the constant news coverage of the disproportionate impact of the pandemic on Black communities may lead to higher rates of anticipation of kin loss among Black children (Bertuccio & Runion, 2020). Traumatic grief may be exacerbated by the lack of social support at the time of loss, again due to social distancing measures and the depletion of emotional resources in surviving caregivers (Albuquerque & Santos, 2021; Weinstock et al., 2021), particularly among Black youth (Moore et al., 2020). Such environmental stressors experienced at the family level, coupled with marginalized social position, place Black families and children in a challenging condition (Murry et al., 2018). The impact of these stressors may negatively impact family well-being and the functionality of the family system, and, in turn, compromise children's well-being, positive developmental, and health outcomes.

Consequences of COVID-19 at the Individual Level

Black youth disproportionately face acute, chronic, and traumatic stressors in the context of COVID-19. Black youth find themselves at the intersection of a health pandemic and a pandemic of racism. Specifically, in 2020, 71% of Black youth were worried that they or a family member would be exposed to the virus, compared with 66% of Latinx youth and 56% of White youth (Wronski, 2020). Accordingly, Black youth are overrepresented in cases of COVID-19 infection and death in comparison with White youth (Goyal et al., 2020), and the percentage of Black children and adolescents who have lost at least one parent to COVID-19 is disproportionately high (Kidman et al., 2021; Thomas, 2021). Seventy-four percent of Black youth reported being worried about the effect COVID-19 may have on their family's finances (Wronski, 2020). Additionally, youth may also be experiencing stress, as the disconnection from school introduced a disruption to their everyday lives. Increased stress is exacerbated by social distancing, which disrupts daily routines and reduces contact with relatives, peers, and adult role models who provide much-needed support (García Coll, 2020).

In addition to these COVID-19 pandemic-related stressors, Black children faced elevated levels of exposure to racial trauma, given the myriad forms of racism, during the pandemic (Iruka et al., 2021). Murry et al.'s (2018) model and García Coll's theoretical framework point to the fact that Black youth are likely to contend with

racial macrostressors in their daily lives, which are large-scale events that emerge within distal systems of a society (Lewis et al., 2015). In recent years, for example, unarmed Black children (Aiyana Jones), adolescents (Tamir Rice), and adults (Daunte Wright) have been killed by police officers. Sinyangwe et al. (2021) reported that Black people accounted for 28% of those killed by police officers in 2020, despite making up only 13% of the U.S. population. Such racial macrostressors, like race riots or highly publicized instances of police brutality, may impact individuals' physiological and day-to-day functioning via vicarious experiences and increased societal awareness due to the news and social media platforms (Lewis et al., 2015). For example, empirical research links viewing viral videos of police shootings to depressive and posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms among Black teenagers (Tynes et al., 2019). These instances of racial violence have only continued through the pandemic (e.g., the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor), thus making Black youth more susceptible to stress and trauma. Further, as a parallel trend of increasing rates of suicide among Black youth is emerging, with Black children aged 5 to 12 being twice as likely as White children to commit suicide (Bridge et al., 2018). Rather than declining, these rates have increased during the COVID-19 pandemic (Rabin, 2021).

Taken together, Black children and youth are experiencing heightened levels of stress across multiple domains of their lives. García Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model for the development of minority children and families points to the ways that Black children and youth experience sociocultural stressors, as their ecology is characterized by the various components of racism. Murry et al. (2018) emphasize that, because of heightened exposure to stressors, youth of color are at risk of experiencing challenges in their developmental transitions, as well as their overall psychological functioning and emotional well-being.

Recommendations

Recommendations for researchers

There is an urgent need for research that examines the short- and long-term impact of the COVID-19 pandemic among Black children and adolescents across multiple domains of functioning. The lack of empirical research on Black children and families is concerning, given the systematic impact of COVID-19 on Black families and communities (Horsford et al., 2021). It is imperative that future research is grounded in culturally relevant theoretical frameworks that have been designed specifically to understand the development and psychosocial functioning of Black youth (e.g., García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995). Research should focus on identifying not only risks and vulnerability but also assets and protective factors (Dupree et al., 2015). Research questions, hypotheses, and analyses of research findings should be developed with an understanding of the inequitable, structurally determined conditions that exacerbate the impact of the COVID-19 on Black youth and shape the responses available to them as they cope with and recover from the pandemic (e.g., Heard-Garris et al., 2021; Neblett, 2019). It is also imperative that future researchers utilize methods that give study participants a voice and not only describe but humanize the lived experiences of participants. For example, mixed-methods designs can be used to ensure that research

Research questions, hypotheses, and analyses of research findings should be developed with an understanding of the inequitable, structurally determined conditions that exacerbate the impact of the COVID-19 on Black youth.

findings are grounded in the lived experiences of participants (Mayoh & Onwuegbuzie, 2015). Finally, there is a critical need for research that utilizes the Intersectional perspective (P. H. Collins, 2015) to delineate the impact of overlapping sources of oppression faced by Black children and adolescents, and the complexities of the effects of the pandemic as shaped by their experiences.

Recommendations for funding agencies

Funding agencies should prioritize funding the work of Black researchers who are building on existing bodies of knowledge pertaining to the needs and strengths of Black children, youth, and families given the funding disparity that affects scholars of African descent (see Ginther et al., 2011; Hoppe et al., 2019). Funding agencies should also prioritize funding interdisciplinary teams that examine disparities related to the COVID-19 pandemic from different disciplinary perspectives, apply a range of methodological techniques, and have expertise in a range of topics; interdisciplinary teams with these characteristics are best equipped to examine the cross-cutting issues and concomitant challenges imposed by the pandemic. In addition, much research from “hard to reach” communities that are disproportionately impacted by the pandemic is missing and needed, which is the result of the funding disparity (see Erosheva, 2020; Hoppe et al., 2019). Funding agencies should fund community-engaged research and research by those with expertise in community-based participatory research strategies, as doing so will allow for a more holistic understanding of the challenges facing the Black

Funding agencies should prioritize funding the work of Black researchers who are building on existing bodies of knowledge pertaining to the needs and strengths of Black children, youth, and families.

community, and where resources and support are most needed (Nguyen et al., 2021). Finally, funding agencies should promote data sharing to increase efficiency in research studies, promote innovative approaches to data analysis, and ensure that researchers have access to relevant and up-to-date information to understand changes and trends related to the pandemic's impact on Black families.

Policy recommendations

To mitigate the disparate and deleterious effects of COVID-19, policy efforts should commit to (a) upholding laws that address racism and support equitable access (e.g., quality education, home ownership, and employment) and (b) fully addressing the needs of Black American children and families. The following are recommendations for addressing the economic impact of the pandemic on Black children and families:

- Provide long-term federal and state financial support to families with children (Shrivastava & Thompson, 2022). Between July to December 2021, the Child Tax Credit expansion, which provided a monthly child allowance to families, reduced poverty among Black children by 25% (Parolin et al., 2022). The success of this policy

demonstrates that by providing longer-term and more robust financial support will ensure that a majority of Black families and families from other racial backgrounds, will be able to meet their basic needs. This tax credit expired in January 2022.

- At the state and local levels, reallocate crime reduction funds to improve education and social services (e.g., more job opportunities, better accessibility, availability, and quality of health and mental health services, more youth academic enrichment programming) in under-resourced Black communities (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020).
- Address racial inequities in economic loss by (a) providing a living wage, paid leave, and hazard pay to essential workers to ensure that Black families are able to thrive, not just survive, financially; (b) providing free, high-quality childcare and meals to reduce the risk of employment disruptions due to needing childcare while reducing the disproportionate number of Black children experiencing food insecurity; (c) creating a federal job guarantee or a federal jobs program that ensures full employment for all Black families; (d) creating a more equitable distribution of tax subsidies to help Black families build wealth (Davis et al., 2021; Derenoncourt & Montialoux, 2020; Langston et al., 2020; Sethi et al., 2020).
- Address racial inequities in health care by (a) moving toward universal health care coverage which will significantly increase the accessibility, availability, and quality of health services among Black families and population; (b) increasing access to quality health care services in Black neighborhoods; (c) investing in minority-serving hospitals and health care institutions, which have been historically underfunded (Williams & Cooper, 2019).
- Make permanent the U.S. Department of Agriculture's (USDA) waiver of income requirements for the Summer Food Service Program, which provides children with free meals when school is not in session (Duncan & LeBarre, 2022; USDA, 2021). Such a policy will ensure that Black children have adequate meals all year round during a time when families are struggling to buy groceries due to high levels of inflation, and the disproportionate, and negative impact of the pandemic on Black families' household incomes (Duncan & LeBarre, 2022).
- Increase job training and guidance related to navigating the job market during economically uncertain times for adolescents seeking job opportunities. Such local policy efforts to allocate funding for increased job training would result in an increase in employed Black youth (Williams & Cooper, 2019).

To address the academic impact of the pandemic on Black children, educational systems should use the Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief (ESSER) funding provided by the American Rescue Plan Act of 2021 (DOE, 2021) to institute policies such as the following:

- Increase investment in school infrastructure and remote learning resources to ensure that Black children in under-resourced communities have access to electronic devices and high-speed internet, as well as other essential learning supports (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020).
- Ensure that teachers serving Black children have the necessary professional training and resources to provide effective remote instruction, including technology skills; online communication skills; curriculum design skills for engaged, interactive instruction; online assessment and evaluation skills; and skills to address the

unique socioemotional needs associated with online learning (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020).

- Provide school districts with funding to enhance instruction that is responsive to Black students' individual academic needs, including support for regular formative assessment of progress during and after the pandemic, to ensure Black youth are experiencing positive academic outcomes (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020).
- Develop universally administered measures that can accurately assess the short-term and long-term effects of the pandemic on children's learning, and ensure these measures are valid for racially diverse student populations (Hamilton & Ercikan, 2022). Administering these measures would allow researchers to capture the effects of the pandemic on Black children's learning and identify ways to support educators in adapting teaching to address learning gaps.
- Equip educators with the training and tools to help students cope with losses and stresses related to the pandemic, police brutality, and other racial traumas (U.S. Department of Education, 2021). Trained educators will be able to consider how racial trauma may impact academic achievement and provide support to Black children.
- Develop additional educational opportunities to enable students who fell behind academically during the pandemic to regain as much learning as possible (Dworkin & Lewis, 2021). Educators planning such opportunities should consider the point of intervention for Black students following the pandemic, as appropriate support and learning opportunities must take into account the contextual, family, and individual challenges that Black students have experienced and are still facing.
- Develop programs to provide tutoring to Black children during and after the pandemic to ensure Black students have the support necessary to be academically successful (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020). Collaboration with community educational organizations and higher education institutions, especially those serving Black students, could increase the resources for tutoring in under-resourced areas.
- Invest in socioemotional learning programs in educational systems (Jagers et al., 2018; Yoder et al., 2020, p. 18). Providing students with the opportunity to exercise socioemotional skills can help bolster Black children's ability to cope with grief, loss, and pandemic-related stressors and undergird academic learning across domains (Jagers et al., 2018).
- Invest resources in school-based health centers to provide high-quality health care and mental health care in underserved Black communities to ensure Black families, who are likely to experience disproportionate levels of stress, have the support needed to increase their well-being and capacity to cope with multiple stressors (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2020).
- Develop programs that facilitate partnerships between schools, community organizations, and social service agencies to provide support to Black families experiencing economic hardship, and those in need of building their support networks within the school and communities in which they are raising their children (Magnuson, 2022).
- Create funding streams through the American Rescue Plan to retool out-of-school time programming so that it is culturally responsive and offers a diverse menu of

programming for Black youth, particularly those in under-resourced and struggling schools (Adams-Bass, 2015; Simpkins et al., 2017).

- Implement fair tax strategies for education to provide funding for public schools that is equitable and adequate for student success instead of relying on geographically based tax revenues, which leads to inequitable funding and fewer resources allocated to Black families (Hill et al., 2021).
- Reexamine and eliminate punitive policies designed to address rule infractions and students' behavioral issues and implement transformative restorative justice models. Given the stressors that Black children have experienced over the last 2 years and pre-pandemic racial inequities, this approach to school discipline is necessary to implement in learning contexts in which many students may yet be experiencing trauma (Winn, 2018).
- Require comprehensive Black history content as part of the standard public school curriculum. Currently, Black history content is incomplete, inaccurate, or absent. Early career teachers have reported feeling inadequately prepared to engage in conversations about racism or to address in-school racial encounters (Bentley-Edwards et al., 2020). Providing comprehensive Black history content is key to students having critical conversations about current events and issues around race that impact communities of color.
- Require colleges and universities with teacher education programs to include a series of Black history and human development courses for degree completion (Adams-Bass & Chapman-Hilliard, 2021; Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016). A review of the 2021 US News & World Report's top 20 schools of education revealed that twelve schools do not require a human development course for degree completion. Human development courses help teachers understand the developmental norms and nuances that they observe in class among Black children.

The failure of schools and teachers to recognize or acknowledge how racism across multiple levels impacts the educational experiences of Black students inevitably contributes to the educational disparities, which have become pronounced because of COVID-19. The recommended policy changes to K–16 curriculum requirements can support long-term changes in the educational experiences of Black children and youth. Below are recommendations to address the consequences of the pandemic on the psychosocial functioning of Black children:

- Incorporate antiracist training and cultural sensitivity training into specific licensure, accreditation, and certification requirements for mental health providers (Alang, 2019).
- Increase the availability of mental health providers in Black communities by offering tuition waivers, tax breaks, or loan forgiveness to medical and professional students studying mental health, and by developing Black mental health provider programs to train Black community residents to provide mental health care to their communities (Alang, 2019).
- Invest resources in community-based mental health centers and social support agencies so that they may continue providing virtual mental health services (e.g., individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling, and social skills groups) for Black children and families to help them cope with losses and stresses related to the pandemic, police brutality, and other types of racial trauma (Shim & Starks, 2021).

- Create more accessible urban green spaces in Black neighborhoods. Green space exposure has been shown to have a positive association with the mental health of children and adolescents (Vanaken & Danckaerts, 2018). Exposure to green space is particularly important for Black families who may be experiencing heightened stress, disproportionately, during the pandemic.
- Invest in resources to create specialized crisis intervention teams trained to address and deescalate emergency mental health situations and divert mental health calls in Black communities away from police to mental health professionals (Butler & Sheriff, 2020; M. E. Kim et al., 2021).

Conclusion

Racism penetrates every level of the ecology of Black children and youth, and the pandemic has merely highlighted the ways that racism continues to cause inequities for Black Americans. This stain on the fabric of American society has resulted in Black Americans disproportionately bearing the physical, economic, and educational brunt of the COVID-19 pandemic. The exposure of the fractures and flaws in the systems supporting our children and youth serves as a call to action and provides an opportunity for lawmakers, researchers, and educators to work collectively to dismantle the structures that have systematically precluded Black Americans from experiencing a truly equitable, equal, and just America. Ignoring this opportunity would not only be a breach of the promise of justice but would result in the perpetuation of inequality across domains affecting the daily lives of Black Americans as well as future generations. As we near a turning point in the COVID-19 pandemic and lean into a brighter tomorrow, we implore our nation's leaders to consider this manuscript a road map for addressing the country's historical failures by setting an agenda, including developing and implementing sustainable policies, that will fully empower Black families and children.

References

- Adams-Bass, V. N. (2021). A matter of media: Cultural appropriation and expectations of Black girls. In S. J. Arki, B. Delano-Orriaran, A. Michael, E. Moore, M. W. Penick-Parks, & O. Swindell (Eds.), *Teaching brilliant and beautiful Black girls*. Corwin Press.
- Adams-Bass, V. N., Atchison, D., & Moore, L. (2015). *Ed-Tech pilot report*. University of California Davis School of Education.
- Adams-Bass, V. N., & Bentley-Edwards, K. L. (2020). The trouble with Black girl magic for Black girls. In D. Apugo, L. Mawhinney, & A. Mbilishaka (Eds.), *Strong Black girls reclaiming schools in their own image*. Teacher College Press.
- Adam-Bass, V. N., & Chapman-Hilliard, C. (2021). Better to have than to have not: Black history knowledge, educational aspirations, and academic achievement. *Journal of Negro Education, 90*(4), 524–538. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/852413>
- Agostinelli, F., Doepke, M., Sorrenti, G., & Zilibotti, F. (2022). When the great equalizer shuts down: Schools, peers, and parents in pandemic times. *Journal of Public Economics, 206*, 104574.
- Alang, S. M. (2019). Mental healthcare among blacks in America: Confronting racism and constructing solutions. *Health Services Research, 54*(2), 346–355.
- Alang, S., McAlpine, D., McCreedy, E., & Hardeman, R. (2017). Police brutality and black health: Setting the agenda for public health scholars. *American Journal of Public Health, 107*(5), 662–665.
- Albuquerque, S., & Santos, A. R. (2021). “In the same storm, but not on the same boat”: Children Grief During the COVID-19 pandemic. *Frontiers in Psychiatry, 12*, 23.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New Press.
- American Academy of Pediatrics & Children's Hospital Association (2021, April 29). Children and COVID-19: State Data Report. A joint report from the American Academy of Pediatrics and the Children's Hospital Association.
- Anaele, B. I., Doran, C., & McIntire, R. (2021). Visualizing COVID-19 mortality rates and African American populations in the USA and Pennsylvania. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities, 8*, 1356–1363. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-020-00897-2>
- Anderson, M. (2016, April 7). *Who relies on public transit in the US?* Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/04/07/who-relies-on-public-transit-in-the-u-s/>
- Anderson, M., & Perrin, A. (2018, October 26). *Nearly one-in-five teens can't always finish their homework because of the digital divide*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/26/nearly-one-in-five-teens-cant-always-finish-their-homework-because-of-the-digital-divide/>
- Anderson, M. D. (2020, October 28). You're out of your mind if you think I'm ever going back to school. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/28/opinion/virtual-school-racism.html>
- Auxier, B., & Anderson, M. (2020, March 16). *As schools close due to the coronavirus, some U.S. students face a digital 'homework gap'* Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/03/16/as-schools-close-due-to-the-coronavirus-some-u-s-students-face-a-digital-homework-gap/>
- Bailey, Z. D., Krieger, N., Agenor, M., Graves, J., Linos, N., & Bassett, M. T. (2017). Structural racism and health inequities in the USA: Evidence and interventions. *The Lancet, 389*, 1453–1463.

- Banks, A. (2022). Black adolescent experiences with COVID-19 and mental health services utilization. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 9, 1097–1105.
- Benitez, J., Courtemanche, C., & Yelowitz, A. (2020). Racial and ethnic disparities in COVID-19: Evidence from six large cities. *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy*, 3(4), 243–261.
- Benner, A. D., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., Boyle, A. E., Polk, R., & Cheng, Y.-P. (2018). Racial/ethnic discrimination and well-being during adolescence: A Meta-analytic review. *American Psychologist*, 73, 855–883. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000204>
- Bentley-Edwards, K. L., Stevenson, H. C., Thomas, D. E., Adams-Bass, V. N., & Coleman-King, C. (2020). Teaching scared: Pre-service teacher appraisals of racial stress, socialization and classroom management self-efficacy. *Social Psychology of Education*, 23, 1233–1257. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-020-09578-8>
- Berry, C. (2021). *Reassessing the Property Tax*. The University of Chicago. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/voices.uchicago.edu/dist/6/2330/files/2019/04/Berry-Reassessing-the-Property-Tax-3121.pdf>
- Bertuccio, R. F., & Runion, M. C. (2020). Considering grief in mental health outcomes of COVID-19. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 12(S1), S87–S89.
- Blagg, K., Gutierrez, E., & Lee, V. (2021). *How COVID-19-Induced Changes to K-12 enrollment and poverty might affect school funding* (Report) (pp. 1–36). Urban Institute, Washington, DC.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). The structure of racism in color-blind, “post-racial” America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59, 1358–1376. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215586826>
- Bridge, J. A., Horowitz, L. M., Fontanella, C. A., Sheftall, A. H., Greenhouse, J., Kelleher, K. J., & Campo, J. V. (2018). Age-related racial disparity in suicide rates among US youths from 2001 through 2015. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 172(7), 697–699.
- Burnette, D., II. (2020). *Devastated budgets and widening inequities: How the coronavirus collapse will impact schools*. EducationWeek. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/devastated-budgets-and-widening-inequities-how-the-coronavirus-collapse-will-impact-schools/2020/05>
- Butler, S. M., & Sheriff, N. (2020, November 23). *Innovative solutions to address the mental health crisis: Shifting away from police as first responders*. The Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/innovative-solutions-to-address-the-mental-health-crisis-shifting-away-from-police-as-first-responders/>
- Butler-Barnes, S. T., & Inniss-Thompson, M. N. (2020). “My teacher doesn’t like me”: Perceptions of teacher discrimination and school discipline among African American and Caribbean Black adolescent girls. *Education Sciences*, 10(2), 44.
- Camera, L. (2020, May 1). Schools face nightmare scenario after coronavirus crisis. *U.S. News and World Report*. <https://www.usnews.com/news/education-news/articles/2020-05-01/schools-face-nightmare-scenario-after-coronavirus-crisis>
- Center for Economic Development. (2020). *Milwaukee’s coronavirus racial divide: A report on the early stages of COVID-19 spread in Milwaukee County*. University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. <https://uwm.edu/ced/wp-content/uploads/sites/431/2020/04/COVID-report-final-version.pdf>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2021, April 19). Cleaning, disinfecting, and ventilation. <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/community/clean-disinfect/index.html>
- Chapman-Hilliard, C., & Adams-Bass, V. (2016). A conceptual framework for utilizing Black history knowledge as a path to psychological liberation for black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 42(6), 479–507. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798415597840>

Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist*, *54*, 805–816.

Coates, T. (2017). *We were eight years in power: An American tragedy*. Oneworld Publishing.

Coleman-King, C., Adams-Bass, V. N., Bentley-Edwards, K. L., Thomas, D., Thompson, C., Michael, A., Miller, G., Charity-Parker, B. M., & Stevenson, H. (2021). Got skillz? Recasting and negotiating racial tension in teacher-student relationships amidst shifting demographics. *Social Science*, *10*(3), 99.

Collins, C. (2021, Spring). It was always about control. *Learning for Justice* (Issue 66). <https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/spring-2021/it-was-always-about-control>

Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142>

Committee on Community-Based Solutions to Promote Health Equity in the United States, Board on Population Health and Public Health Practice, Health and Medicine Division, & National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2017). In J. N. Weinstein, A. Geller, Y. Negussie, & A. Baciu (Eds.), *Communities in action: Pathways to health equity*. National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/24624>

Davis, C., Guzman, M., & Schieder, J. (2021). *State income taxes and racial equity*. Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. <https://itep.org/state-income-taxes-and-racial-equity/>

Dennis, A. C., Chung, E. O., Lodge, E. K., Martinez, R. A., & Wilbur, R. E. (2021). Looking back to leap forward: A framework for operationalizing the structural racism construct in minority health research. *Ethnicity & Disease*, *31*(Suppl 1), 301–310. <https://doi.org/10.18865/ed.31.S1.301>

Derenoncourt, E., & Montialoux, C. (2020). Minimum wages and racial inequality. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *136*(1), 169–228. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjaa031>

Do, D. P., & Frank, R. (2021). Unequal burdens: Assessing the determinants of elevated COVID-19 case and death rates in New York City's racial/ethnic minority neighborhoods. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, *75*(4), 321–326.

Dorn, E., Hancock, B., Sarakatsannis, J., & Viruleg, E. (2020). *COVID-19 and student learning in the United States: The hurt could last a lifetime*. McKinsey & Company. <https://www.mckinsey.com/7E/media/McKinsey/Industries/Public%20Sector/Our%20Insights/COVID19%20and%20student%20learning%20in%20the%20United%20States%20The%20hurt%20could%20last%20a%20lifetime/COVID-19-and-student-learning-in-the-United-States-FINAL.pdf>

Dotinga, R. (2012). 'Health care deserts' more common in Black neighborhoods. Center for Advancing Health. <https://medicalxpress.com/news/2012-04-health-common-black-neighborhoods.html>

Drew, R., & Abu-Khalaf, A. (2020). *Linking housing challenges and racial disparities in COVID-19*. <https://www.enterprisecommunity.org/blog/04/20/housing-challenges-racial-disparities-in-covid-19>

Duncan, A., & LeBarre, J. (2022, March 4). *Food crisis in school cafeterias is a wake-up call for the USDA*. K-12 Dive. <https://www.k12dive.com/news/food-crisis-in-school-cafeterias-is-a-wake-up-call-for-the-usda/619786/>

Dupree, D., Spencer, T. R., & Spencer, M. B. (2015). Stigma, stereotypes and resilience identities: The relationship between identity processes and resilience processes among Black American adolescents. In L. C. Theron, L. Liebenberg, & M. Ungar (Eds.), *Youth resilience and culture* (Vol. 11, pp. 117–129). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9415-2_9

Dworkin, L., & Lewis, K. (2021, October 13). *To help students recover from the pandemic, education leaders must prioritize equity and evidence*. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/>

brown-center-chalkboard/2021/10/13/to-help-students-recover-from-the-pandemic-education-leaders-must-prioritize-equity-and-evidence/

Education Trust. (2020). *Parents overwhelmingly concerned their children are falling behind during school closures*. <https://edtrust.org/parents-overwhelmingly-concerned-their-children-are-falling-behind-during-school-closures/>

Egede, L. E., & Walker, R. J. (2020). Structural racism, social risk factors, and Covid-19—A dangerous convergence for Black Americans. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 383(12), e77.

Erosheva, E. A. (2020). NIH peer review: Criterion scores completely account for racial disparities in overall impact scores. *Science Advances*, 6, eaaz4868. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aaz4868>

Escobar, G. J., Adams, A. S., Liu, V. X., Soltesz, L., Chen, Y. F. I., Parodi, S. M., & Lee, C. (2021). Racial disparities in COVID-19 testing and outcomes: Retrospective cohort study in an integrated health system. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 174(6), 786–793.

Federal Communications Commission. (n.d.). *Affordable connectivity program*. <https://www.fcc.gov/acp>

Fernandes, D. M., Oliveira, C. R., Guerguis, S., Eisenberg, R., Choi, J., Kim, M., Abdelhemid, A., Agha, R., Agarwal, S., Aschner, J. L., Avner, J. R., Balance, C., Bock, J., Bhavsar, S. M., Campbell, M., Clouser, K. N., Gesner, M., Goldman, D. L., Hammerschlag, M. R., ... Tri-State Pediatric COVID-19 Research Consortium. (2021). Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 clinical syndromes and predictors of disease severity in hospitalized children and youth. *Journal of Pediatrics*, 230, 23–31.

Figuroa, J. F., Wadhera, R. K., Mehtsun, W. T., Riley, K., Phelan, J., & Jha, A. K. (2021). Association of race, ethnicity, and community-level factors with COVID-19 cases and deaths across US counties. *Healthcare*, 9(1), 100495.

Frankenberg, E., Ee, J., Ayscue, J., & Orfield, G. (2019, May 10). *Harming our common future: America's segregated schools 65 years after Brown*. The Civil Rights Project. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/23j1b9nv>

Friedman, J., York, H., Mokdad, A. H., & Gakidou, E. (2021). US children “learning online” during COVID-19 without the internet or a computer: Visualizing the gradient by race/ethnicity and parental educational attainment. *Socius*, 7, 2378023121992607. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023121992607>

Galasso, V. (2020). COVID: Not a great Equalizer. *CESifo Economic Studies*, 66(4), 376–393.

García Coll, C. (2020, June 3). Let's not forget the children during pandemic [My Turn column]. *Providence Journal*. <https://www.providencejournal.com/news/20200603/my-turn-cynthia-garciacutea-coll-letsquos-not-forget-children-during-pandemic>

García Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, 67(5), 1891–1914.

Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Adams-Bass, V., Bogan, E. D., Francis, L., Scott, J. C., Seaton, E. K., & Williams, J. (2020). *Addressing inequities in education: Considerations for Black children and youth in the era of COVID-19. Addressing Inequities in Education during the COVID-19 pandemic: How education policy and schools can support historically and currently marginalized children and youth*. Society for Research in Child Development. <https://www.srcd.org/research/addressing-inequities-education-considerations-black-children-and-youth-era-covid-19>

Gaynor, T. S., & Wilson, M. E. (2020). Social vulnerability and equity: The disproportionate impact of COVID-19. *Public Administration Review*, 80(5), 832–838.

- Gee, G. C., & Hicken, M. T. (2021). Structural racism: The rules and relations of inequity. *Ethnicity & Disease, 31*(Suppl 1), 293–300. <https://doi.org/10.18865/ed.31.S1.293>
- Gilbert, L. K., Strine, T. W., Szucs, L. E., Crawford, T. N., Parks, S. E., Barradas, D. T., Njai, R., & Ko, J. Y. (2020). Racial and ethnic differences in parental attitudes and concerns about school reopening during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR), 69*(49), 1848–1852. <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6949a2>
- Ginther, D. K., Schaffer, W. T., Schnell, J., Masimore, B., Liu, F., Haak, L. L., & Kington, R. (2011). Race, ethnicity, and NIH research awards. *Science, 333*, 1015–1019. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1196783>
- Godoy, M., & Wood, D. (2020, May 30). What do coronavirus racial disparities look like state by state? Shots: Health news from NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2020/05/30/865413079/what-do-coronavirus-racial-disparities-look-like-state-by-state>
- Golash-Boza, T. M. (2015). *Race & racisms: A critical approach*. Oxford University Press.
- Goyal, M. K., Simpson, J. N., Boyle, M. D., Badolato, G. M., Delaney, M., McCarter, R., & Cora-Bramble, D. (2020). Racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities of SARS-CoV-2 infection among children. *Pediatrics, 146*(4), e2020009951. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-009951>
- Greene, S., Turner, M. A., & Gourevitch, R. (2017). Racial residential segregation and neighborhood disparities. US Partnership on Mobility From Poverty. <https://www.mobilitypartnership.org/publications/racial-residential-segregation-and-neighborhood-disparities>
- Guessoum, S. B., Lachal, J., Radjack, R., Carretier, E., Minassian, S., Benoit, L., & Moro, M. R. (2020). Adolescent psychiatric disorders during the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown. *Psychiatry Research, 291*, 113264.
- Hamilton, L. S., & Ercikan, K. (2022). COVID-19 and U.S. schools: Using data to understand and mitigate inequities in instruction and learning. In F. M. Reimers (Ed.), *Primary and secondary education during Covid-19: Disruptions to educational opportunity during a pandemic* (pp. 329–351). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-81500-4>
- Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*, 42–57.
- Hawkins, D. (2020, April 16). The coronavirus burden is falling heavily on Black Americans. Why? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/apr/16/black-workers-coronavirus-covid-19>
- Heard-Garris, N., Boyd, R., Kan, K., Perez-Cardona, L., Heard, N. J., & Johnson, T. J. (2021). Structuring poverty: How racism shapes child poverty and child and adolescent health. *Academic Pediatrics, 21*(8), S108–S116. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2021.05.026>
- Hill, M., Davis, C., & Wiehe, M. (2021). *Taxes and racial equity: An overview of state and local policy impacts*. Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. https://itep.sfo2.digitaloceanspaces.com/ITEP_Taxes-and-Racial-Equity-State-and-Local-Policy-Impacts-2.pdf
- Hoppe, T. A., Litovitz, A., Willis, K. A., Meseroll, R. A., Perkins, M. J., Hutchins, B. I., Davis, A. F., Lauer, M. S., Valantine, H. A., Anderson, J. M., & Santangelo, G. M. (2019). Topic choice contributes to the lower rate of NIH awards to African-American/Black scientists. *Science Advances, 5*(10), eaaw7238. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aaw7238>
- Horsford, S. D., Cabral, L., Touloukian, C., Parks, S., Smith, P. A., McGhee, C., Qadir, F., Lester, D., & Jacobs, J. (2021). *Black education in the wake of covid-19 & systemic racism*. Black Education Research Collective. Teachers College, Columbia University.

Hudley, C. (2013, May). Education and urban schools. *The SES Indicator Newsletter*. <http://www.apa.org/pi/ses/resources/indicator/2013/05/urban-schools>

Hussar, B., Zhang, J., Hein, S., Wang, K., Roberts, A., Cui, J., Smith, M., Bullock Mann, F., Barmer, A., & Dilig, R. (2020). *The Condition of Education 2020 (NCES 2020-144)*. U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2020144>

Ingraham, C. (2021, March 12). Homes in poor neighborhoods are taxed at roughly twice the rate of those in rich areas, study shows. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2021/03/12/property-tax-regressive/>

Iruka, I. U., Curenton, S. M., Sims, J., Escayg, K.-A., & Ibekwe-Okafor, N., & RAPID-EC. (2021). *Black parent voices: Resilience in the face of the two pandemics—COVID-19 and racism*. Researchers Investigating Sociocultural Equity and Race (RISER) Network. <https://www.bu-ceed.org/riser-network.htm>

Jacobsen, L. A. (2020, August 18). *Digital and economic divides put U.S. Children at greater educational risk during the COVID-19 pandemic*. Population Reference Bureau. <https://www.prb.org/resources/economic-and-digital-divide/>

Jagers, R. J., Rivas, D., & Borowski, T. (2018). *Equity & social and emotional learning: A cultural analysis (Measuring SEL: Using Data to Inspire Practice)*. Establishing Practical Social-Emotional Competence Assessments Work Group.

Jones, C. P. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health, 90*, 1212–1215. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212>

Jones, J. M. (1997). *Prejudice and racism* (2nd ed.). McGraw Hill.

Kidman, R., Margolis, R., Smith-Greenaway, E., & Verdery, A. M. (2021, April 5). Estimates and projections of COVID-19 and parental death in the US. *JAMA Pediatrics, 175*(7), 745–746. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapediatrics.2021.0161>

Kim, C. Y., Losen, D. J., & Hewitt, D. T. (2010). *The school-to-prison pipeline: Structuring legal reform*. NYU Press.

Kim, E. J., Marrast, L., & Conigliaro, J. (2020). COVID-19: Magnifying the effect of health disparities. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 35*(8), 2441–2442.

Kim, M. E., Chung, M., Consulting, A. C., Hassan, S., & Ritchie, A. J. (2021). *Defund the police—Invest in community care: A guide to alternative mental health responses*. Interrupting Criminalization. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5ee39ec764dbd7179cf1243c/t/60ca7e7399f1b5306c8226c3/1623883385572/Crisis%2BResponse%2BGuide.pdf>

Kuhfeld, M., Soland, J., & Lewis, K. (2022). *Test score patterns across three COVID-19-impacted school years*. Annenberg Institute at Brown University (EdWorkingPaper No. 22-521). <https://doi.org/10.26300/ga82-6v47>

Kuhfeld, M., Soland, J., Tarasawa, B., Johnson, A., Ruzek, E., & Liu, J. (2020). Projecting the potential impact of COVID-19 school closures on academic achievement. *Educational Researcher, 49*(8), 549–565.

Kuhfeld, M., & Tarasawa, B. (2020, April). *The COVID-19 slide: What summer learning loss can tell us about the potential impact of school closures on student academic achievement*. Collaborative for Student Growth/NWEA. https://www.nwea.org/content/uploads/2020/05/Collaborative-Brief_Covid19-Slide-APR20.pdf

Langston, A., Scoggins, J., & Walsh, M. (2020). *Race and the work of the future: Advancing workforce equity in the United States*. PolicyLink and USC Equity Research Institute. <https://>

nationalfund.org/wpcontent/uploads/2020/11/Race_and_the_Work_of_the_Future_United_States_FINAL.pdf

Lecoanet, R., Kuo, D., Lindsley, S., & Seibold, S. (2014). *Disproportionate minority contact in the juvenile justice system* (Policy brief). The Sentencing Project. <http://uwphi.pophealth.wisc.edu/publications/other/uw-phi-dmc-final-evaluation-report-september-2014.pdf>

Lee, D. L., & Ahn, S. (2013). The relation of ethnic-racial identity, ethnic identity, and racial socialization to discrimination–distress: A meta-analysis of Black Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031275>

Lewis, T. T., Cogburn, C. D., & Williams, D. R. (2015). Self-reported experiences of discrimination and health: Scientific advances, ongoing controversies, and emerging issues. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 11*, 407–440. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-032814-112728>

Lippman, L. (1996). *Urban schools: The challenge of location and poverty*. Department of Education Office of Educational.

Lloyd, C. M., Shaw, S., Alvira-Hammond, M., & DeMand, A. (2021, March 18). *Racism and discrimination contribute to housing instability for Black families during the pandemic*. Child Trends.

Loevy, R. D. (1997). *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The passage of the law that ended racial segregation*. SUNY Press.

Losen, D. J., & Martinez, P. (2020). *Lost opportunities: How disparate school discipline continues to drive differences in the opportunity to learn*. Learning Policy Institute; Center for Civil Rights Remedies at the Civil Rights Project, UCLA. <https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline>

Mackey, K., Ayers, C. K., Kondo, K. K., Saha, S., Advani, S. M., Young, S., & Kansagara, D. (2021). Racial and ethnic disparities in COVID-19–related infections, hospitalizations, and deaths: A systematic review. *Annals of Internal Medicine, 174*(3), 362–373.

Magnuson, K. A. (2022). Parent-school partnerships: Accounting for parents facing economic hardship and social marginalization. In K. L. Bierman & S. M. Sheridan (Eds.), *Family-school partnerships during the early school years: Advancing science to influence practice* (pp. 113–126). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74617-9_7

Mayoh, J., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2015). Toward a conceptualization of mixed methods phenomenological research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 9*(1), 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689813505358>

Mein, S. A. (2020). COVID-19 and health disparities: The reality of “the Great Equalizer”. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 35*(8), 2439–2440.

Miller, E. (Host) (2021, January 5). *Rayshawn & Josh: Why some Black students may do better at home (No. 6)* [Audio podcast episode]. In *Class of 2025*. Oregon Public Broadcasting. <https://www.opb.org/article/2021/01/05/class-of-2025-season-2-episode-6/>

Mitropoulos, A. (2021, February 25). *Children of color disproportionately impacted by severe COVID-19 and related diseases, data reveals*. <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/children-color-disproportionately-impacted-covid-19-data-reveals/story?id=76063845>

Moore, J. T., Ricaldi, J. N., Rose, C. E., Fuld, J., Parise, M., Kang, G. J., & Honein, M. A. (2020). Disparities in incidence of COVID-19 among underrepresented racial/ethnic groups in counties identified as hotspots during June 5–18, 2020—22 states, February–June 2020. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, 69*(33), 1122. <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6933e1>

Morris, E. (2007). “Ladies” or “loudies”? Perceptions and experiences of Black girls in classrooms. *Youth & Society, 38*, 490–515. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X06296778>

- Murry, V. M., Butler-Barnes, S. T., Mayo-Gamble, T. L., & Inniss-Thompson, M. N. (2018). Excavating new constructs for family stress theories in the context of everyday life experiences of Black American families. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10(2), 384–405.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2019). *Vibrant and healthy kids: Aligning science, practice, and policy to advance health equity*. National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/25466>
- National Center for Health Statistics. (2015). *Summary health statistics: National Health Interview Survey, 2014*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nhis/shs.htm>
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. (2020). *Eviction and foreclosure moratoriums*. <https://nlihc.org/eviction-and-foreclosure-moratoriums>
- Neblett, E. W. (2019). Racism and health: Challenges and future directions in behavioral and psychological research. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 25(1), 12–20. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000253>
- Nguyen, T. T., Wallerstein, N., Das, R., Sabado-Liwag, M. D., Jernigan, V. B. B., Jacob, T., Cannady, T., Martinez, L. S., Ndulue, U. J., Ortiz, A., Stubbs, A. W., Pichon, L. C., Tanjasiri, S. P., Pang, J., & Woo, K. (2021). Conducting community-based participatory research with minority communities to reduce health disparities. In I. Dankwa-Mullan, E. J. Pérez-Stable, K. L. Gardner, X. Zhang, & A. M. Rosario (Eds.), *The Science of Health Disparities Research* (1st ed., pp. 171–186). Wiley.
- North, A. (2020, April 9). The shift to online learning could worsen educational inequality. *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/2020/4/9/21200159/coronavirus-school-digital-low-income-students-covid-new-york>
- Odoms-Young, A., & Bruce, M. A. (2018). Examining the impact of structural racism on food insecurity: Implications for addressing racial/ethnic disparities. *Family & Community Health*, 41(Suppl 2), S3–S6. <https://doi.org/10.1097/FCH.000000000000183>
- Office for Civil Rights. (2021). *Education in a pandemic: The disparate impacts of COVID-19 on America's students*. U. S. Department of Education. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/20210608-impacts-of-covid19.pdf>
- Office of Minority Health. (2019). *Black/African Americans health profile*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. <https://www.minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=3%26lvlid=61>
- Padilla, C. M., & Thomson, D. (2021, January 13). *More than one in four Latino and Black households with children are experiencing three or more hardships during COVID-19*. Child Trends. <https://www.childtrends.org/publications/more-than-one-in-four-latino-and-black-households-with-children-are-experiencing-three-or-more-hardships-during-covid-19>
- Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaher, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLOS One*, 10(9), e0138511.
- Parolin, Z., Collyer, S., & Curran, M. A. (2022). *Sixth Child Tax credit payment kept 3.7 million children out of poverty in December. Child poverty set to spike in January 2022 after expiration of monthly payments*. Columbia University Center on Poverty and Social Policy. <https://www.povertycenter.columbia.edu/news-internal/monthly-poverty-december-2021>
- Parpia, A. S., Martinez, I., El-Sayed, A. M., Wells, C. R., Myers, L., Duncan, J., & Pandey, A. (2021). Racial disparities in COVID-19 mortality across Michigan, United States. *EClinicalMedicine*, 33, 100761.
- Pitts, S. C. (2011). *Black workers and the public sector*. UC Berkeley Labor Center. <http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/black-workers-and-the-public-sector/>

- Poulson, M., Geary, A., Annesi, C., Allee, L., Kenzik, K., Sanchez, S., & Dechert, T. (2021). National disparities in COVID-19 outcomes between Black and White Americans. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 113*(2), 125–132.
- Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Trenerry, B., Truong, M., Karlsen, S., & Kelly, Y. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science & Medicine, 95*, 115–127.
- Rabin, R. C. (2021). U.S. suicides declined over all in 2020 but may have risen among people of color. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/15/health/coronavirus-suicide-cdc.html>
- Ray, R. (2020, April 9). *Why are Blacks dying at higher rates from COVID-19?* [Blog post]. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/04/09/why-are-blacks-dying-at-higher-rates-from-covid-19/>
- Reardon, S. F., & Owens, A. (2014). 60 years after Brown: Trends and consequences of school segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology, 40*, 199–218.
- Reddick, C. G., Enriquez, R., Harris, R. J., & Sharma, B. (2020). Determinants of broadband access and affordability: An analysis of a community survey on the digital divide. *Cities (London, England), 106*, 102904. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102904>
- Regional Educational Laboratory (REL) Program Northwest (2020, April). *Learning loss. Ask a REL*. <https://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/regions/northwest/askarel/learning-loss.asp>
- Rimmer, A. (2020). Covid-19: Disproportionate impact on ethnic minority healthcare workers will be explored by government. *British Medical Journal, 369*, m1562. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m1562>
- Roza, M. (2020, April 9). *How the coronavirus shutdown will affect school district revenues*. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2020/04/09/how-the-coronavirus-shutdown-will-affect-school-district-revenues/>
- Rubin-Miller, L., Alban, C., Artiga, S., & Sullivan, S. (2020). COVID-19 racial disparities in testing, infection, hospitalization, and death: Analysis of Epic patient data. *Kaiser Family Foundation, 2020916*.
- Sanders, C. (2020, May 15). *Protecting against separate and unequal K-12 funding amid COVID-19*. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. <https://www.cbpp.org/blog/protecting-against-separate-and-unequal-k-12-funding-amid-covid-19>
- Schaeffer, K. (2021, October 1). *What we know about online learning and the homework gap amid the pandemic*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/10/01/what-we-know-about-online-learning-and-the-homework-gap-amid-the-pandemic/>
- Sethi, S., Johnson-Staub, C., & Robbins, K. G. (2020). *An anti-racist approach to supporting child-care through Covid-19 and beyond*. The Center for Law and Social Policy. <https://www.clasp.org/publications/report/brief/anti-racist-approach-supporting-child-care-through-covid-19-and-beyond>
- Shapiro, E., Green, E. L., & Kim, J. (2021, February 1). Missing in school reopening plans: Black families' trust. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/us/politics/school-reopening-black-families.html>
- Share Our Strength. (n.d.). Food insecurity, children, and race: A look at household food insecurity among adults and children of varying races. http://join.nokidhungry.org/site/DocServer/Food_Insecurity_as_it_relates_to_Race_and_Ethnicity.pdf
- Shim, R. S., & Starks, S. M. (2021). COVID-19, structural racism, and mental health inequities: Policy implications for an emerging syndemic. *Psychiatric Services, 72*(10), 1193–1198. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ps.202000725>

- Shrivastava, A., & Thompson, G. A. (2022). *TANF cash assistance should reach millions more families to lessen hardship*. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. <https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/tanf-cash-assistance-should-reach-millions-more-families-to-lesser#:~:text=TANF%20would%20help%20many%20more,than%20reported%20for%20that%20year>
- Simpkins, S. D., Riggs, N. R., Ngo, B., Vest Ettekal, A., & Okamoto, D. (2017). Designing culturally responsive organized after-school activities. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 32*(1), 11–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558416666169>
- Sinyangwe, S., McKesson, D., & Elzie, J. (2021, March 31). *Mapping police violence* [Database]. <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/>
- SlaveVoyages. (2018, October 22). *Trans-Atlantic slave trade—Estimates* [Database]. <http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>
- Snowden, L. R., & Graaf, G. (2021). COVID-19, social determinants past, present, and future, and African Americans' health. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities, 8*(1), 12–20.
- Sohn, H. (2016). Racial and ethnic disparities in health insurance coverage: Dynamics of gaining and losing coverage over the life-course. *Population Research and Policy Review, 36*(2), 181–201. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11113-016-9416-y>
- Spencer, M. B. (1995). Old issues and new theorizing about African-American youth: A phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory. In R. L. Taylor (Ed.), *African-American youth: Their social and economic status in the United States* (pp. 37–70). Praeger.
- St. George, D. (2021, September 1). Some families of color remain wary of returning to classrooms as new school year begins. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/schools-in-person-hesitant-families-color/2021/08/30/1f0d61d6-ba7b-11eb-96b9-e949d5397de9_story.html
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist, 62*, 271–286. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271>
- Swasey, C., Winter, E., & Sheyman, I. (2020, April 9). *Memo: The staggering economic impact of the coronavirus pandemic*. Data for Progress. <https://filesforprogress.org/memos/the-staggering-economic-impact-coronavirus.pdf>
- Thebault, R., Ba Tran, A., & Williams, V. (2020, April 7). The coronavirus is infecting and killing Black Americans at an alarmingly high rate. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/04/07/coronavirus-is-infecting-killing-black-americans-an-alarmingly-high-rate-post-analysis-shows/>
- Theodos, B., & González, J. (2019). *Building community and wealth in underserved commercial corridors*. Urban Institute.
- Thomas, N. (2021, April 5). “Staggering” number of children have lost at least one parent to Covid-19, model estimates. *CNN Health*. https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/05/health/parental-deaths-covid-19-wellness/index.html?utm_term=link%26utm_medium=social%26utm_content=2021-04-11T14%3A00%3A16%26utm_source=twCNN
- Tynes, B. M., Willis, H. A., Stewart, A. M., & Hamilton, M. W. (2019). Race-related traumatic events online and mental health among adolescents of color. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 65*, 371–377. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2019.03.006>
- U.S. Department of Agriculture. (2021, March 9). *USDA extends free meals to children through summer 2021 due to pandemic* [Press release]. <https://www.usda.gov/media/press-releases/2021/03/09/usda-extends-free-meals-children-through-summer-2021-due-pandemic>

- U.S. Department of Education. (2021, March 17). *Department of Education announces American Rescue Plan funds for all 50 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia to help schools reopen* [Press release]. <https://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/department-education-announces-american-rescue-plan-funds-all-50-states-puerto-rico-and-district-columbia-help-schools-reopen>
- U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. (2014). *Civil right data collection: Data snapshot (school discipline)*. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/data.html>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2016, April). *K–12 education: Better use of information could help agencies identify disparities and address racial discrimination (GAO-16-345)*. <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-16-345>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2018, March). *K-12 education: Discipline disparities for Black students, boys, and students with disabilities*. <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-18-258>
- Vasquez Reyes, M. (2020). The disproportional impact of COVID-19 on African Americans. *Health and Human Rights, 22*, 299–307.
- Vanaken, G.-J., & Danckaerts, M. (2018). Impact of green space exposure on children’s and adolescents’ mental health: A systematic review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 15*(12), 2668. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph15122668>
- Verdery, A. M., Newmyer, L., Wagner, B., & Margolis, R. (2021). National profiles of coronavirus disease 2019 mortality risks by age structure and preexisting health conditions. *The Gerontologist, 61*(1), 71–77.
- Verdery, A. M., Smith-Greenaway, E., Margolis, R., & Daw, J. (2020). Tracking the reach of COVID-19 kin loss with a bereavement multiplier applied to the United States. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 117*(30), 17695–17701.
- Verizon (n.d.). *Verizon innovative learning*. <https://www.verizon.com/about/responsibility/digital-inclusion/verizon-innovative-learning>
- Vogels, E. A., Perrin, A., Rainie, L., & Anderson, M. (2020, April 30). *53% of Americans say the internet has been essential during the COVID-19 outbreak*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2020/04/30/53-of-americans-say-the-internet-has-been-essential-during-the-covid-19-outbreak/>
- Weinstock, L., Dunda, D., Harrington, H., & Nelson, H. (2021). It’s complicated—Adolescent grief in the time of Covid-19. *Frontiers in Psychiatry, 12*, 166.
- Wheeler Report. (2020, July 8). Education and COVID-19 – Part II – Technology – The Wheeler Report. <http://www.thewheelerreport.com/blog/2020/06/17/education-and-covid-19-partii-technology>
- Williams, D. R., & Collins, C. (2001). Racial residential segregation: A fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. *Public Health Reports, 116*(5), 404–416.
- Williams, D. R., & Cooper, L. A. (2019). Reducing racial inequities in health: Using what we already know to take action. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 16*(4), 606. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16040606>
- Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2013). Racism and health I: Pathways and scientific evidence. *American Behavioral Scientist, 57*, 1152–1173.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial-ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*, 200–208. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.2.200>
- Winn, M. T. (2018). *Justice on both sides: Transforming education through restorative justice*. Harvard Education Press.

- Wronski, L. (2020). *Common sense media survey monkey poll: Coronavirus and teenagers*. <https://www.surveymonkey.com/curiosity/common-sense-media-coronavirus/>
- Yancy, C. W. (2020). COVID-19 and African Americans. *JAMA*, 323(19), 1891–1892. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2020.6548>
- Yoder, N., Posamentier, J., Godek, D., Seibel, K., & Dusenbury, L. (2020). *State efforts to elevate social and emotional learning during the pandemic*. Committee for Children.
- Zhang, S. (2021, April 21). We are turning COVID-19 into a young person’s disease. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2021/04/young-kids-vaccines-covid/618650/?s=03>
- Zinn, H. (1990). *A people’s history of the United States*. Harper & Row.

Author Bios

Dr. Erin Bogan is a developmental psychologist with over 10 years of deep content expertise and experience working at the nexus of research, practice, and policy. Prior to joining CASEL as the Director of Evaluation Research, Dr. Bogan served as a researcher at the American Institutes for Research where she led large-scale evaluations, research projects, and strategic partnerships with states and districts, educational programs, and schools. As a Vice Provost Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Bogan was a member of the Penn Child Researcher Center and led research partnerships with Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia, Early Head Start, and the School District of Philadelphia. Dr. Bogan has also continued to contribute to the field through research and has received grants from the American Education Research Association and the Society for Research on Child Development to lead independent research exploring parenting, social-emotional learning competencies, and school readiness among Black children and families. Dr. Bogan has earned a Ph.D. in Education and in Psychology from the University of Michigan, a Master’s in Education from the University of Pennsylvania, a Master’s in Psychology from the University Michigan, and a Bachelor’s in Education and in Social Welfare from UC Berkeley.

Dr. Valerie N. Adams-Bass is a developmental psychologist and an assistant professor of Youth and Social Innovation, in the School of Education and Human Development at the University of Virginia. Dr. Adams-Bass’ research centers on Black children and youth. She is most interested in examining how media exposure influences inter-personal interactions and self-concept and how racial/ethnic socialization experiences are related to the process of identity development and social and academic experiences. Dr. Adams-Bass regularly trains youth development professionals to use culturally relevant practices when working with African American children and youth. She is a faculty affiliate of the Racial Empowerment Collaborative of the University of Pennsylvania’s Graduate School of Education, the Youth-Nex Center to Promote Effective Youth Development, and The Center for the Study of Race and Public Education in the South at the University of Virginia.

Dr. Lori A. Francis is an associate professor of Biobehavioral Health at Penn State University and Director of the Family and Child Health Project. As a developmental health scientist, her research is at the intersection of developmental science and public health, and she examines biobehavioral underpinnings of cardiometabolic risk, with an emphasis on the ways in which individual differences in self-regulation or executive function moderate risk for obesity. Current projects focus on children exposed to family and household adversity, with a specific interest in children from households experiencing poverty. Dr. Francis graduated with a B.S. in Preventive Medicine from the State University of New York at Buffalo, and she received her M.S. and Ph.D. in Human Development and Family Studies from Penn State University.

Dr. Noni K. Gaylord-Harden is a professor in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences and director of the Youth Rising Lab at Texas A&M University. Dr. Gaylord-Harden is a clinical psychologist who conducts quantitative research on traumatic stress and psychosocial functioning in Black youth and families in challenging contexts. Her most recent work focuses on the impact of exposure to community violence on Black adolescents in disinvested, urban communities. The overarching goals of her work are to address disparities in community violence exposure and traumatic loss, to understand the impact of emotional desensitization and physiological hypersensitization to violence, and to minimize the impact of violence exposure by enhancing existing strengths and assets embedded in Black youth, families, and communities. She has published several peer-reviewed research articles and presented numerous scientific conference presentations on these topics, and her team aims to utilize findings from this research to develop and implement culturally and contextually relevant interventions for Black adolescents and families. She has received funding from The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, the American Psychological Association, and the Institute of Education Sciences for her research efforts.

Dr. Eleanor K. Seaton is a professor at Arizona State University. Dr. Seaton is a developmental psychologist who uses quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods to examine the following topics among Black adolescents and adults: (1) the impact of racism on mental health, (2) racial identity as a protective factor for racism, (3) the intersection of race, gender, and pubertal development, and (4) the biopsychosocial impacts of racism. Recently, Dr. Seaton initiated a project examining the impact of Chicago-style house music among Black adults who are members of Generation X. Dr.

Seaton is the former chair of SRCD's ERI Committee and SRA's Diversity and Equity Committee, and currently serves on SRCD's Governing Council. Dr. Seaton is dedicated to eradicating racism and enhancing the number of underrepresented scholars in developmental science. Dr. Seaton developed the Scholars Development Program, designed to increase the numbers of Black developmental scientists receiving NIH funding, a racial disparity that NIH acknowledges. Dr. Seaton currently co-hosts a television segment, titled Break it Down on AZ PBS where she discusses how racism impacts various facets of society. Dr. Seaton tends to journal, travel, bake desserts, shop, read, watch movies, and dance to Chicago-style house music when relaxing.

Dr. Judith C. Scott is an assistant professor at the Boston University School of Social Work. Her research focuses on how trauma such as physical child maltreatment and racism (interpersonal and structural), protective processes including ethnic-racial socialization and coping, and contextual factors affects parenting and mental health among families across cultures. An interdisciplinary researcher, Dr. Scott uses community-based participatory approaches and qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods in her work. Her current and past research focus on Black and Asian children and families with consideration of ethnic variation and immigrant experiences. Her secondary research interest is providing program evaluations to small and medium non-profit community organizations serving families. Dr. Scott is a Consulting Editor for the *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*. She also is a member of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Office of Youth and Young Adult Services Racial Equity Movement Advisory Board, and the Boston University School of Public Health Center of Excellence in Maternal and Child Health Advisory Board.

Joanna L. Williams, Ph.D., is an associate professor in the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers University. As a developmental psychologist, her primary interest is the period of adolescence. Her scholarship focuses on understanding the role of race and ethnicity in individual and interpersonal contexts and in school settings. Specific areas of interest include racial-ethnic identity, racial-ethnic diversity in adolescent friendship networks, and social network equity in diverse schools. Her current line of work is focused on co-producing research on these topics with young people. Dr. Williams is also involved in efforts to translate the science of adolescent development into useful recommendations and practices for parents, educators, and policymakers. She is co-director of the National Scientific Council on Adolescence and is a member of the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine's Board of Children, Youth, and Families. She is also a faculty affiliate of Youth-Nex: The UVA Center to Promote Effective Youth Development, and the Center for Parent and Teen Communication, a multidisciplinary team based within the Division of Adolescent Medicine at Children's Hospital of Philadelphia. Dr. Williams is the current chair of the Black Caucus of the Society for Research on Child Development (2021–2023).